2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

Normally, all the belongings of the dead, except those left at the grave, are destroyed. If a man has a canoe, however, it is inherited by a male relative, not necessarily of the immediate family. But the canoe cannot be used until after the final *pukamuni*. It is then painted white and overturned on a smoky fire to drive out the dead man's *mopaditi*. If this ritual were not carried out, the *mopaditi* would warn the sea creatures and spoil the fishing.

(a) *The Burial of Nulatini*

At the death of *Nulatini*, the wife of one of my informants, *Pulaninkuwi*, six men, not closely related to the dead woman, were appointed as "workers".

One of them stayed behind in the camp to cut the hair[83] from the head, face and armpits of the husband, after which he washed himself, donned a *tokwianga* (goose-feather ball) and pulled out his own pubic hairs.

The object of these rituals was to so alter the appearance and so destroy the body odour of the husband that the *mopaditi* of his dead wife, *Nulatini*, would neither recognize nor smell him. For, as mentioned previously, the *mopaditis* of the newly dead are lonely people, always on the look-out to steal the spirit of some living[84] person, as a companion. The husband is in especial danger.

There were no signs of grief at the burial site as the men cleared the ground

[83] In the olden days, the hair of the head was cut with cockle shells and that of the face, armpits, and pubes, removed by plucking. A study of the custom of depilation in Australia may reveal some interesting links.

[84] After the death of *Nulatini* I had a remarkable experience. The aboriginal men came to my tent and told me that, just as the woman was dying, she had called my name three times. As the aborigines believe that the last name called by a dying person is the one whose spirit the *mopaditi* would endeavour to steal, I was warned to take special care of myself. If I left camp, the men told me, I must take one of them to protect me, and if I had to walk around at night, I must always carry a lighted lantern, for, as mentioned earlier (p. 62), all *mopaditis* fear the light.

For a while I heeded the warning of the men (hoping thereby to gain a fuller knowledge of their beliefs about the *mopaditis*), but one day, without thinking, I wandered over a stony ridge to a lagoon, some two hundred yards from my camp.

I had just reached my destination when I heard the aboriginal men excitedly calling my name. Realizing the cause of their distress, yet anxious to gather additional information, I did not reply, but went back to camp by a roundabout way. When the men found me safe in my tent, they were most relieved. They told me that when I was missing they had followed my tracks for a while, but lost them on the stony ground (I was wearing soft-soled rubber shoes). Straightaway, the aborigines concluded that *Nulatini's mopaditi* had stolen my spirit, for, they explained, as soon as this happened, my body, being without a spirit, would not leave any tracks on the ground that they could follow, and, as I would have become invisible (like glass), they would have been unable to see me, even though I were close at hand.

The men were convinced that they had saved my life, for, by calling out, they had frightened the *mopaditi* so much that she had dropped my spirit, which had been able to re-enter my body.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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764 and dug the grave, which was about six feet long and five feet six inches deep. But when, in the middle of the afternoon, four men appeared, carrying the body, in a fully extended position, and placed it beside the unfinished grave, a number of women, painted all over in white, sat beside the corpse and cried heart-brokenly until the grave was finished. There was a chorus of wailing [302] from both men and women when one of the "workers" painted *Pulanimbuwi's* [751] body entirely in white (Pl. 23A), as additional camouflage to confuse his wife's *mopaditi*.

The ceremonials associated with the burial started when first the husband, then a near relative, dancing astride the corpse, called out loudly, "*Yook, yook*". This ritual, called *wuramu*, was first introduced by the pelican-man at *Purukupali's* ceremony. At the present time it is performed by close relatives [775] of the dead, its object being to scare the *mopaditi* into the grave where it will not be a menace to the living.

After this ritual, two other men entered the grave and, standing, one either end, took the dead body from those above. Amid the sounds of wailing women and the clapping of men's hands on their buttocks, the corpse was gently laid on a bed of transverse logs on the bottom. Other "workers" cut green branches and placed them across the top of the grave.

The husband, carrying a lighted firestick, then entered the grave, burnt the hair on his legs and left immediately. The aborigines believe that the [775] *mopaditi*, smelling the burnt hair of her husband, and thinking he was beside her, stayed quietly in the grave.

The bushes were thrown into the grave, logs, about five feet long,[88] laid on top, and the hole was filled in, leaving a small mound which was covered with sheets of paper-bark (Pl. 24C). Short sticks were driven into the ground at the head and foot of the grave, on one of which the husband hung the meagre belongings of his wife.

764 Both men and women then performed a series of dances, the men danced 535 the flying fox, shark and crocodile, while both the elder and younger women moved in a line toward the grave, holding large green leaves in their hands, palm upward, symbolizing the dead woman when a small child, being carried by her mother.

A woman, holding her breasts, impersonated *Nulatini's* mother feeding her, while a near male relative mimed the mother carrying *Nulatini* as an infant.

764 At the conclusion, *Pulanimbuwi* seated himself at the head of the grave,

[825] [88] The aborigines explained that the logs kept the dogs from unearthing the body, but as, at the present time, the body is over five feet underground, this does not appear to be the reason. It may be that, when tools were more primitive and graves not so deep, these precautions were necessary.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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(a) One of the first series, when the "workers" were appointed, which was held in the main camp. 765

(b) One of the second series, held at a ceremonial ground mid-way between the first and the place of burial.

(c) An *ilanis* performed by the Bathurst Island group who attended to take part in the final *pukamuni* rituals.

(a) *The First Ilanias*

The first series of *ilanias* was performed on a ceremonial ground, about forty feet in diameter, adjacent to *Wurarbuti's* camp. All stones and tree roots had been dug out so that the dancers would not injure their feet. In the centre of the dancing circle, or *milimika*, a fire was laid ready for the later ritual of *wandiatapinda*, or fire-jumping,[69] a ritual which was carried out at most but not all of the *ilanias* (Pl. 24B). At some of the later *ilanias*, particularly at the second *milimika*, aborigines, close relatives of the dead, performed a similar ritual by climbing a tree at the base of which others lit a fire of grass and dead leaves (Pl. 23C).

Although I suspect that the ritual of jumping over the fire once had a deeper significance, the present day belief is that the fire, by burning the hair on the legs of the aborigines, protects them from stumbling over logs; from their limbs becoming tired on long journeys, or from dead trees falling on them as they travel through the forest. The smoke from the fire also brought them good health. No women took part in the *wandiatapinda* rituals, although the men often held their small children in the smoke. [751] [372]

Wurarbuti, the ceremonial leader or *alouwia* (frontispiece) of the *Waniamperi's pukamuni* rituals, was an intelligent, sophisticated aboriginal, who had worked for long periods in Darwin, and, more recently, had visited the southern States to dance before the Queen of England. 765 177

Because of his knowledge of European ways and the goods of the white man, the songs and dances of this first series of *ilanias* were a curious mixture of the old and the new cultures. Although most, if not all, of the dances performed at the *ilanias* are traditional and totemic, it is permissible to modify them for the song of the moment. [176]

The ceremony opened when the assembled aborigines, about twenty of them, standing within the *milimika*, gave the low-pitched honey call, with the high-pitched mosquito call, which precedes and finishes all *ilanias*.

[69] Spencer (1928, p. 648), saw this rite at Cockle Point, on Apsley Straits (Fig. 1), during 1911. [114]

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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blood from the arm of the victim, yet leaves no wound. As the sick person becomes weaker, the *Papinjuwari*, making himself sufficiently small, enters the body through the mouth, and, by drinking up the rest of the blood, kills the victim.

FIG. 12. *The Spirit People*
The Meteor-man, Papinjuwari.

On his return to Wangidji, the meteor-man vomits the stolen blood into a bark container. This provides a drink for the assembled *Papinjuwaris*.

The aborigines stated that, as the Tiwi have no medicine men, they are without protection against these dangerous spirit people.[42]

Pl. 47C is a simple bark painting of the *Papinjuwaris*. The white figures are the ghoulish sky-people, the crescents are moons, and the circles, stars.

Fig. 12 is the copy of a crayon drawing showing a *Papinjuwari*, *a*, inside of his paper-bark hut at Wangidji. On either side of him at *b*, *b*, are the large

[42] Spencer, 1928, p. 671, refers to a song chanted in a *Kulama* ceremony which is supposed to protect the initiates from an evil spirit, the shooting star, *Mabiuua* (almost certain to be my *Papinjuwari*); Harney and Elkin, 1942, p. 282, who call the meteor man, Papinowari, or Lamparapari, state that, if a piece of dried blood of a person is burnt, the smell will attract the meteor-man.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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the dead, they should never be taken from him. *Marauji* was so angry over this white man's act of sacrilege that he created a heavy storm to sink the boat and so prevent the theft.

The Marauji at Maundu

Maundu, a freshwater lagoon on the south-western shores of Bathurst Island is the home of many *Marauji*, males, females and children, under a leader called *Orini*. The water which flows from the lagoon, across the beach into the sea, is reddish in colour. This, according to the aborigines, is stained by the faeces of the *Marauji*.

The aborigines of the adjoining *Mandubuka* totem are the only people safe from the attacks of the *Marauji* of Maundu. To protect a stranger who has to go near Maundu, one of the local men, wiping the perspiration from his own armpits, rubs it over his companion.

The familiar body odour misleads the *Marauji*, who do not attack the newcomer. Should this strange aboriginal have to cross the stream that flows from Maundu to the sea, a local man first makes the water muddy, then, walking through it instructs the stranger to step in his tracks. The stranger must recompense his guide for this protection. Should the stranger become thirsty and none of the local men are with him, he can safely drink at Maundu if he first makes the water muddy. At the *pukamuni* ceremony of *Waniamperi* which we witnessed at Melville Island, an elderly aboriginal, *Jibunglialumi*, whose nose had been eaten away by yaws, attributed his deformity to the attack of a *Marauji* because he drank from the clear, not the muddy water, of Maundu.

Even when a group of local aborigines has to pass the Maundu lagoon, they travel in single file, the elder men first, the younger men next, then the women and children, each adult placing his feet exactly in the footmarks of the person in front. No woman, during the period of her menses, must go near Maundu. If she did, *Marauji* would kill her. There are good ochres of many colours at Maundu but no one will use them. Tradition tells of an aboriginal, called *Alumgun*, who lost his life because he disregarded this taboo.

One side of a female *pukamuni* basket, Pl. 48c (indicated by the central hole), deals with the myth of *Marauji* at Maundu.

The central hole in the basket is the freshwater lagoon, Maundu; the radiating lines, *a*, *a*, etc., are the *Marauji* and those at *b*, *b*, etc., strips of white sand on the bottom of the lagoon. The darker circles indicate the red (stained) water which runs from the lagoon, across the beach, into the sea, and the

9:Harney & Elkin E-4, 5 (ca. 1940) 1943 OI20 Tiwi OI20

All those in number one group belong to the same clan, and are " opposite " to those of number two group, who also belong to one clan. The lines A, B, C and D are intermarrying groups, i.e. Ego marries his *yabunaiya*, etc.

Of course, relationship terms also include others denoting the type of relation or blood tie. For instance, a mother's brother or a sister's son (group) when distantly related to Ego could be his father-in-law and would then be called *YUNARENIWA*. A true father is *ERINGANI*, a father's sister, *yananiya* ; father's father *ARMINI* ; father's mother, *armma* ; mother's brother's own daughter, *yamuina*, and one son, *YAMUWANINI*[4] ; half brother is *INGULABINI* and a half-sister *inguleba*.[5]

This system of marriage is not unlike the Murngin and Anula system and also is the same as the *wadji wadji* (wrong side marriage) of the Mudbara. In one, cross-cousins—not *inguleba*—can marry, while in the true Mudbara cross-cousin marriage is prohibited.

Rites. The rituals centre around the Kulama. The underlying principle of this is to ensure that the Kulama (a small hot yam that embodies the spirit of the " old woman " and guardian of the horde) is cooked correctly, for this ensures her protection against Maradji, the rainbow snake, another old woman who can cause evil to come upon them and " swallow them " up. It is performed during the wet season by each family, and is said to bring about a plentiful supply of food. The Kulama is also used to pass the initiates, both male and female, from a lower to a higher order in the social scale, although I myself could not see that any important results were obtained by the initiates through the ritual.[6]

Some result, or at least protection, however, is obtained : if the Kulama is not sung or danced at the prescribed time or place, the Marakarti (spear grass) and also the ring used for cooking the Kulama yams at the ritual, would give rise to a poison, *Tani*, which would pass into the air and cause sickness ; perhaps a youth who had not passed through the Kulama would sicken and die. On the other hand, a youth who has passed through the ritual may gain a certain satisfaction by believing that he can drive the sickness away and protect the family. In addition, the Kulama is not only an increase ritual for yams ; in it the father also " sings " the name of his child in a form of song, *apa*, and foretells in a dream that a certain spirit " shade " will be incarnated through one of his wives at some future date ; for these children are waiting at that " spirit dreaming " place called Bilawuwi. In other words, it is a human increase ritual.

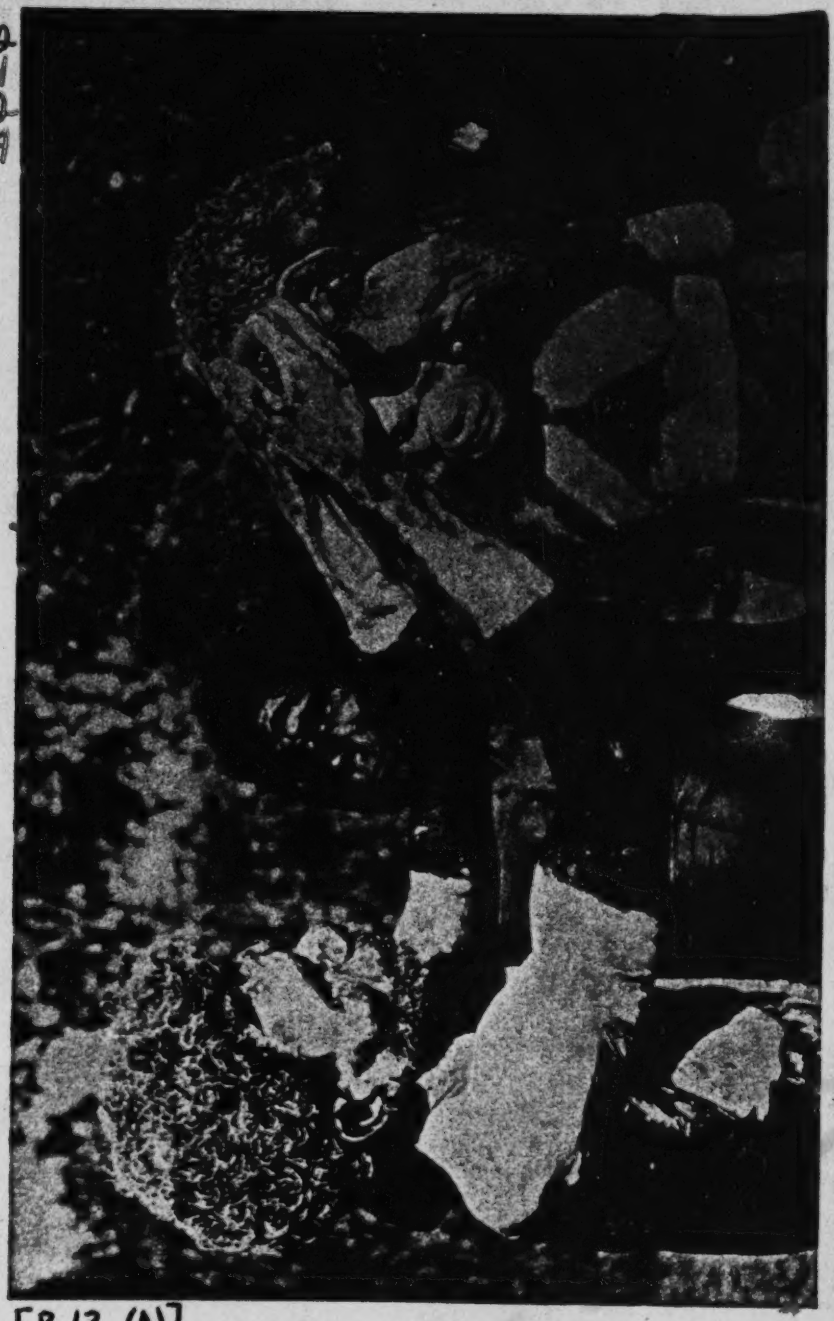
[4] These are true cousins and cannot marry.

[5] This *inguleba* native is the term for persons who are taboo to Ego ; they cannot approach Ego's wives, as their sweat must not touch. They are people who are " out of line " in relationship. For instance, if a Kudjarli man marries two women, one a Tukambani and the other a Miatai, his children would be of two different *pukui* or totems. These children, half-brothers and half-sisters, are *inguleba* to each other.

[6] It is unlike the Karawadi of the subincised people, in which the initiate is freed of certain food taboos, and again in the Kedidjingara, through which the old men receive magical power to levy tribute from the young people of the tribe, who have not passed through that ritual.

11:Goodale E-5 (1954, 1962) 1963 CE20 Tiwi CE20

302
●151
142
884



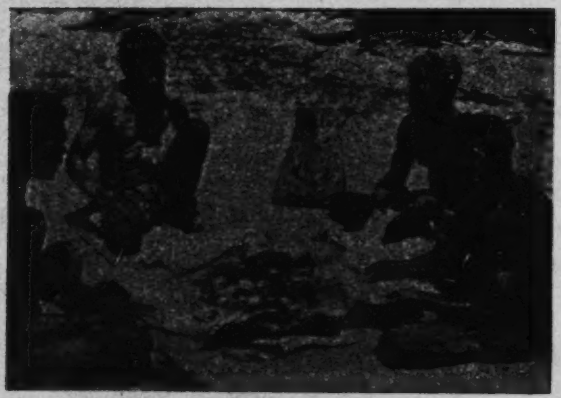
RUBBING PAINT into the hair is supposed to prevent illness, and daubing it on the arms and legs wards off broken bones.

[P. 13, (A)]

11:Goodale E-5 (1954, 1962) 1963 CE20 Twi CE20

884
252
291
516

HOT EARTH over baked *Kalama* yams is removed. Yams that are to be eaten at end of ritual must be resoaked in water.



[824]

SOME COOKED YAMS are cut, pooled, and mashed. Water and paint are then added. Yams are always handled with respect.

[951]
[950]

MEN RUB MASH on bodies to insure health; then do so to the uninitiated young, whose health is paternal responsibility.

[P. 16. (A)]